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ABSTRACT

This bibliographic essay is designed to help the student begin to investigate both context and content of contemporary Spanish society, government, politics, and economy. Coverage is selective because the focus is on sources in English, although where important subject matter gaps exist, Spanish sources are provided. Many of these are available in research libraries. Others have to be secured from their publishers, such as agencies of the government of Spain. The investigator of Spanish institutions will find that understanding the nature of this culture will fall into three broad categories of analysis: (1) broad, retrospective and introspective historical analyses of history, society, politics, and economics, that reach back from pre-Roman influences and travel into the 20th century: (2) works that emphasize the forces, particularly political, from the late 19th century on that led up to the civil war and include the Franco regime; and (3) the period of post-Franco transformation and the current building of Spain as a democratic constitutional monarchy. The first two traditions are primarily historical, the third is rich in analysis. Because democracy in Spain developed through a peaceful transformation to democracy by negotiation among its major interests, the transformation period fundamentally altered Spain's governmental and economic institutions, laid to rest many political cleavages that had been alive for nearly 200 years, and changed Spanish society. The resources described are divided into sections of general works, political system, government and policy making, economy, society and culture. Contains 124 references. (DK)

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SPANISH SOCIETY, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ECONOMY:

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

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Foreward

This bibliographic paper is designed to help the student begin to investigate both context and content of contemporary Spanish society, government, politics and economy. Coverage is necessarily selective. The Indiana University on-line, IO system has currently catalogued over 5,000 holdings under the subject heading of Spain in English, Spanish and other languages. The focus here is on sources in English, although where important subject matter gaps exist, Spanish sources are provided, many of which are available in the IU or other research libraries. Others have to be secured from their publishers, such as agencies of the government of Spain.

The author is indebted to a number of persons for their assistance in preparation of this paper. At Indiana University I appreciate the help of Jerome Mintz and Daniel Quilter for reading the manuscript and pointing out major works in disciplines where I am a novice, as well as potential errors in judgment. My colleagues at Ortega y Gasset -- Rafael Bañón, Ernesto Carillo, Manuel Tamayo and Juan Antonio Ramos -- have also made useful suggestions and explanations of how various works fit into recent developments. Finally, I would like to thank staff members at the Fulbright Commission of Spain, particularly Elizabeth Anderson, María Jesus Pablos, and Pat Zahniser for providing me with the initial opportunity and further encouragement to study in Spain, and to their colleague Thomas Middleton, of the Joint U.S.-Spanish Committee on Educational and Cultural Cooperation, whose Committee has allowed me to be able to continue study of Spanish constitutionalism and federal arrangements.

SPANISH SOCIETY, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Recent English works on Spain reflect the dramatic changes that have occurred since the death of General Francisco Franco, who ruled that country by authoritarian dictatorship for 36 years after the Spanish Civil War. From Franco's death in 1975 until the 1982 elections, when power passed from a rightist government to the victorious Socialist Worker's Party of Spain (PSOE), the nation went through a peaceful transformation to democracy by negotiation among its major interests; the first such "velvet revolution." Previously, democracy had been born in other nations by the granting of independence by a colonial power, revolution, civil war, or coup de Etát. This transition period fundamentally altered Spain's governmental and economic institutions, laid to rest many political cleavages that had been alive for nearly two hundred years, and changed Spanish society. Since the Spanish case was among the first of recent democratic transitions, it has been the focus of major scholarship. Scholarly and popular works on the transition are readily available in English, supplemented by a rich literature on modern Spanish political history.

The success of the transition has led to a normalcy in Spanish institutions. After 10 years as PSOE prime minister, Felipe González recently commented that, "My heartfelt desire for many years of my life was that Spain should be considered a normal country, with normal difficulties." Other than violence on the part of one Basque independence group, dramatic events are much less frequent in Spain. This stability is being contributed to by the routine functioning of its governmental institutions. Spain has worked through or is in the process of

working out some of its most nettlesome political problems: the role of the Church, the non-involvement of the military, the end of international isolation, questions of sub-national autonomy, and most important, a parliamentary government that is considered to be legitimate by a broad range of Spaniards. In contrast to many popular stereotypes, Spaniards are proving that they can govern. Scholarship unfortunately continues to focus on the dramatic period of the transition that ended over a decade ago.

The investigator of Spanish institutions will find that understanding the nature of this culture will fall into three broad categories of analysis: 1) broad, retrospective and introspective historical analyses of history, society, politics and economics, that reach back from pre-Roman influences and travel into the twentieth century; 2) works that emphasize the forces, particularly political, from the late 19th century on that led up to the Civil War and include the Franco regime; and, 3) the period of post-Franco transformation and the current building of Spain as a democratic constitutional monarchy.

The first tradition is historical and generally traces the evolution of the nation-building process: Roman provincialism, Visigothic monarchies, Arab conquest, reconquest by the Christian monarchs, the building of an overseas empire, European power struggles and wars, the decline of empire, and the instabilities of the nineteenth century. Woven through these political themes are attempts to explain the development of the Spanish language, social structure, the arts and literature, and social movements. Most histories also develop the stories of economic institutions and practices as supporting forces, particularly eternal Spanish struggles with rights to land and land distribution, the economic consequences of existence in this largely arid land, and attempts to control international trade. The roots of subnational or regional

cultural identities and political interests are also developed as themes that are woven through each period. Many of these broad interpretive histories also attempt to link the "Spanish character" to the events that unfold. Since many of these events are depicted as involving extreme political difficulties and economic hardships, when compared to other nations in Europe, they are somehow attributed to something inherent in Spain or Spaniards. Since most of these English works are written by non-Spaniards, some native historians and philosophers have taken exception to such interpretations.

The second tradition is also historical and basically looks at the one and three quarters centuries that led up to and bracketed Franquism. Because it is more recent yet is largely complete this is perhaps the most thoroughly studied period of Spanish history. The broad themes include tensions surrounding the rise of republicanism and later democracy, as well as the continuing role of the monarchy in relation to these forces. Economic forces such as land reform, the industrial revolution, organized labor, the modern corporation, issues of trade, and the rise of socialism and anarchism are also part of the story. These were all tensions that Spain shared with the rest of Europe. But Spain was also unable to deal with monarchial succession, the role of the Church and state, military involvement in politics, and from the late Nineteenth Century, the rise of regional ethnic subnationalism. As a result, Spain experienced forty-three pronunciamentos (Spanish version of the coups d'État), three civil wars, two republics, several versions of constitutional monarchy, and two dictatorships. The scholarship that describes these events is rich indeed, as it traces these developments as the roots of the Franco era. For example, there are many and somewhat varying interpretations of the "causes" of the civil war and the rise of Franquism. There are also a few good works of scholarship on the nature of the

Franco regime--government, politics, and economy--but there is no doubt that nearly 40 years of dictatorship discouraged access and research that led to publication in both Spanish and English. It is fortunate that some scholars made the effort to understand and explain this period, for the 1975-1982 transition is clearly rooted in all phases of Spanish history, particularly the later years of Franquism.

The third tradition, scholarship on the transition to democracy and the current regime, roughly from 1975 to the present, is relatively rich in analysis, particularly in the period's history, political forces, and economic trends: the constitution-building period of 1975-1978; early elections of 1977, 1979, and 1982; the evolution of the political party system since 1975; public opinion and citizen support for the new regime; and the political economy of democratic Spain. As mentioned, developments relating to the transformed system's governmental operations, such as public finance, the bureaucracy, the workings of the multi-tiered governmental layers, and public policy and its impacts are not treated with the same thoroughness. A few such studies are available to the English reader, mostly in scattered journal articles and in contributions to anthologies. The real success stories of the workings of contemporary Spanish government and public policy either remain to be written or are available only in the Spanish language.

General Works

There are many historical works on Spain's evolution. Some dated but venerable classics include J.B. Trend's (1967) Civilization of Spain, which is cultural in orientation, and provides a good understanding of the society the Spanish created. One easy to read and accessible history of Spain's noble age is J.H. Elliot's (1963) Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716, which brackets the

marriage of Ferdinando and Isabela and the rise of the Bourbon dynasty after the War of the Spanish Succession. While primarily a political history, the social, economic, and cultural context of these events during the building of the Spanish nation are also analyzed. Stanley Payne's (1973) two volume A History of Spain and Portugal is a comprehensive Iberian study, with an emphasis on political history but with parallel analyses of social, economic and cultural developments. Jamie Vicens Vives's (1969), An Economic History of Spain, is much broader than its title suggests, covering social, cultural and political developments as well. A late Spanish historian, these are translations of his published university lectures. Raymond Carr's (1982) Comprehensive Spain, 1809-1939 provides an excellent overview of political events, as well as the social and economic history of the period that led to Franquism.

Gerald Brennan's (1964) The Spanish Labyrinth is a highly readable account of the social forces that led up to the Civil War, written by an Englishman who lived in Spain for many years. Brennan develops the strength of feeling by Spaniards in patria chica, i.e., provincial and municipal feeling, as well as the importance of class cleavages, struggles with the Church, and Spain's early twentieth century governing difficulties.

The period immediately preceding the Second Republic and Civil War (1923-1930) was the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who seized power by pronunciamiento. The General believed that the parliamentary system was incapable of dealing with the challenges of modern development, labor pressure, and national integration. Primo de Rivera's dictablanda, or mild authoritarian rule, was intended to be a reform-oriented royal dictatorship under head of state King Alfonso XIII. Two studies of this period were published in the 1980s. The first, Fascism from Above: The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain 1923-1930, by

Shlomo Ben-Ami (1983) tries to dispel many of the myths surrounding this ruler and these times as some "parenthesis" in history. Although Primo de Rivera was not a hard and fast ideologue and had a modernization/social and economic orientation, the regime was in many ways a model for pragmatic dictators that followed in other countries. The second history, Revolution from Above: The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship in Spain, 1923-1930 by James Rial (1986) examines the regime from the perspective of Spain's problems as a developing nation and how the dictatorship attempted to deal with them, as well as the attempted political, economic, and social reforms. Rial concludes that Primo de Rivera accomplished far less than he set out to achieve, because his vision was limited, and he worked closely with established elites and developed policies in their interest.

The fall of the dictatorship and the antecedents of the Second Republic is the subject of Shlomo Ben-Ami's (1978) The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain. During the 1920s political alternatives outside of government were kept alive and were unleashed into a social democratic movement that is examined in this book, that continues through the first months of the Republic. The Spanish Civil War by Hugh Thomas (1986) is a readable study of this 1931-1939 period, originally published in 1961 but has been continually updated. Thomas examines the Second Republic (1931-1936) and the War as a struggle over leading European political ideas since the sixteenth century. Another well respected work that covers the Second Republic more thoroughly, but analyzes the Republican side more than the Nationalist (Franco's rebellion) side, is Gabriel Jackson's (1965) The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939.

Stanley Payne's (1967) Franco's Spain is a brief analysis of the first quarter-century of the regime. He accounts for the various forces that constituted Franquism and explains the

limits on the dictatorship. A more thorough and retrospective analysis is provided in Stanley Payne's (1987) political history, The Franco Regime: 1936-1975. Payne examines the several facets of the regime, as well as social, economic and political changes during this era. It is a thorough study with historical distance and perspective. Juan Pablo Fusi's (1987) more recent biographical essay, Franco interprets Franquism as the personal rule of an authoritarian conservative soldier who was primarily interested in unity, order, and restoration of Catholicism as the moral basis of the state. Fusi acknowledges that Franco's rule was unique as dictatorships go, particularly its "bad democratic conscience." Franco was conscious that the regime lacked democratic legitimacies by introducing showcase democratic trappings.

Finally, Understanding Spain by Julián Marías (1990) is a general historical essay, by an essayist and writer of broad issues of Spanish culture, that attempts to refute non-Spanish writers interpretations of history. Relying heavily on the work of Spanish writers such as Miguel de Unamuno (1943), José Ortega y Gasset (1948) and Américo Castro (1954), Marías takes issue with many popularly held ideas: Moorish-Arabic influences, that the Spanish Inquisition was more severe in Spain than in other European nations, Spanish destruction of the Indies, that Spain has been a consistently decadent nation, and that Spain is not a nation but a mosaic of peoples. This nationalistic historical interpretation also develops the argument that Spain is distinctly European, not some anomaly.

Among the many general works in English about post-transition Spanish politics, three stand out as essential in understanding political forces and the structure of the new system. The most insightful work on the transition is Donald Share's (1986) The Making of Spanish Democracy, which traces the elements of peaceful transition by transaction. For the first time

in nearly two centuries Spain was able to build a broad coalition encompassing varied interests, party elites were able to reach consensus on the most critical issues, and the party system was reasonably stable, allowing for eventual alternation of power. Share does an excellent job of analyzing Franquist and post-Franco forces that contributed to stability during the transition period. Politics in Iberia by Howard Wiarda (1993) is a brief textbook covering Portuguese and Spanish political forces. He traces cultural, historical and social impacts on political behavior. Contemporary coverage focuses on both countries' transitions to democracy and regional politics, including political parties, interest groups and public policy. Wiarda examines the origins and practice of corporatism, authoritarianism, and state-society relations. An essential introductory work on government and economic institutions is Peter Donaghy and Michael Newton's (1989) Spain: A Guide to Political and Economic Institutions, which describes the workings of Spanish government and politics, the functions and powers of governmental agencies, and major economic institutions. Although the analysis of each component is necessarily brief, it is a quick, easily referenced work. Readers who have little familiarity with the current Spanish system will be well served to begin with this comprehensive reference work.

Several general works will introduce the reader to the current Spanish economy. One of the most useful economic histories is Joseph Harrison's (1985) The Spanish Economy in the Twentieth Century, which explains the reasons behind the nation's supposed isolationism, protectionism and economic backwardness. Harrison also traces the factors behind Spain's growth and recovery, the so-called "Spanish miracle" from 1961-1973, and the nation's entry into the European economy in the 1980s. A contemporary work that examines the several aspects of the current economy is Keith Salmon's (1991) The Modern Spanish Economy, which

traces economic changes that parallel the governmental transformation: from centralism-intervention to market-oriented reforms, changes that reflect a transformation from a rural, then industrial economy to a post-industrial economy dominated by the service sector which is especially reliant on tourism. Salmon also provides an introduction to the recent alignment with European economic policies. Finally, the Economist Intelligence Unit (1991) produces brief annual surveys of the Spanish political economy in their Country Profile series.

Two general works on contemporary Spain are The Spaniards: A Portrait of the New Spain, by John Hooper (1987) and Spain: A Nation Comes of Age by Robert Graham (1984). Hooper offers an easy to read introduction to current society, covering social, economic and political forces as well as the changing welfare state, the arts, the media, the sexual revolution, the family and how other social values have "opened up" since Franco. Also, Hooper analyzes the current manifestations of regionalism by introducing the reader to Basque, Catalan, and Galician ethnic subnationalism, and to Spain's unique federative/decentralist governance arrangements. This journalist's view of contemporary Spain is a good place to start for unfamiliar researchers and future travellers. The Graham book covers much of the same territory, but is more rooted in analyzing Spain's political economy. It also helps the unfamiliar reader better understand the transformation of the country, and is more thoroughly documented with events and personalities. Also in the category of general works is Spain: A Country Study, edited by Eric Solsten and Sandra Meditz (1990) is a U.S. Library of Congress country profile that covers in brief form virtually every aspect of history, society, culture, economy, politics and natural security. Another current but less detailed look at Spain's political economy and social life is contained in "The Economist: A Survey of Spain" (1992), which looks at the

country in the context of the European Community.

Political System

Spain's transformation was anchored in a process that incorporated a wide spectrum of interests negotiating settlements over many major issues. As a result, political opinion and the party and electoral systems have been extensively studied by english-speaking political scientists, particularly American researchers. Many overviews of other aspects of contemporary politics appear in the anthologies cited below that deal with post-Franco Spain. The Wiarda (1993) book, Politics in Iberia would provide a current basic introduction to the various features of the political system.

The most definitive work on Spanish political parties is Spain After Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System by Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad (1986), which traces the development of national and regional parties through the early elections. It also contains an epilogue on the 1982 realignment. Through the analysis of data on party perceptions, election returns, and of electoral laws, the study examines key social and political concerns: class conflicts, differences over the role of the Church, regional subnationalism, and electoral and ideological predilections. They conclude that the early party system emerged as a result of several factors, e.g., voter predispositions in relation to party ideologies, perceptions of party leaders, the strength of party organization, and most important, the behavior of political elites.

Studies of political parties mainly cover parties of the center-left and the left. Paul Heywood's (1990) Marxism and the Failure of Organized Socialism in Spain, 1879-1936 is a well documented study of the relationship between theory and practice in the PSOE's formative

years, through the period when it was a significant force in both the creation and collapse of the Second Republic. Heywood (1987) has also written a paper on how the PSOE was able to gain electoral advantage over the Communist Party by a more effective response to social changes that followed the economic growth of previous decades. Richard Gillespie (1989) charts the development of PSOE from 1939, particularly the interaction between factionalism, ideology and alliances in his The Spanish Socialist Party. Although the book covers the post-Franco period, it contains the best treatment of PSOE during the Franco years. Gillespie (1990) has also published a paper on the increasing estrangement between the ruling PSOE and the socialist union, General Worker's Union (UGT), and how unions have now become opposition forces to Felipe Gonzalez's government. Donald Share's (1989) Dilemmas of Social Democracy: The Spanish Socialist Workers Party is one of the few studies that focuses on the party-in-the-government. This work looks at the rise to power of the PSOE, its internal struggles when out of power from 1977-1982, and its shift from social democracy to a party that has attempted to strengthen capitalism while in power. Share's study, which traces developments through the PSOE's first two terms, demonstrates how the PSOE contributed to democratic stability.

Communism and Political Change in Spain, by Eusebio Mujal-León (1983) provides an analysis of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) and its struggle to broaden its base in the electoral system. Although outlawed during the Franquist era, the PCE was the only left-wing formal organized opposition to the regime. When legalized before the early elections the PCE's electoral support steadily declined, and the author identifies the internal struggles and electoral appeals that have led to this decline. Another history of the PCE is Victor Alba's (1983) The Communist Party in Spain that takes a more organizational perspective and looks at the

differences between Spanish communism and the world movement.

Unfortunately, there are no English works on the two parties of the center right, the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) coalition of parties, which governed through the first two elections, and since has faded out, and the Popular Alliance (AP), which is now called the Peoples' Party (PP). However, a solid study in Spanish of the early years of the AP has been written by Lourdes López Nieto (1988) in Alainza Popular: Estructura y Evolución Electoral de un Partido Conservador (1976-1982) which covers party operations, the party in electoral contests, as well as its attempt to capture the center-right. The renamed PP party has steadily gained support through the 1980s and was quite successful in capturing regional and city governments during the 1991 elections. The PP has now become the major opposition party to the PSOE. Although there are no English language monographs on regional parties, the Gunther, et. al., book (1986) contains a thorough analysis of the early party systems in the Basque Country, Catalunia, Galicia and other regions.

Several survey studies of electoral behavior and voter support have been undertaken that follow the Anglo-American research tradition. The standard work on the early elections is Spain at the Polls, 1977, 1979 and 1982 (Penniman and Mujal-León 1985), an anthology that looks at the first three transitional elections. The papers examine the rise of the PSOE, the decline of the UCD, and the difficulties of developing enduring party alignments on the right of the political spectrum. No local election studies have been published in English, but a ten year study of regional and municipal elections in Catalunia by Valles and Subirats (1990) provides a look at early electoral development in that region. Also, a series of papers have been published in the journal literature by Peter McDonough, Samuel Barnes, and Antonio López Pina

that emanate from data gathered between 1978 and 1984. These data track public attitudes and support for the new regime. They deal with several critical questions: the political positioning of Spaniards' and bases of electoral and popular support (McDonough, Pina, and Barnes 1981); the public's assessment of the strength of the central government, voluntary associations, secular-religious orientations and the propensity toward "irregular" political actions (McDonough and Pina 1984); the development of party identification along a left-right tendence (Barnes, McDonough and Pina 1985); economic opinions in relation to ideology and the performance of government (McDonough, Barnes and Pina 1986); and, the development of legitimacy, and its shift from formal political to social democratic values (McDonough, Barnes and Pina 1986). Another paper by these authors (McDonough, Pina and Barnes 1981) examines electoral cleavages and party alignments, in which where they conclude that, while traditional differences over class and religious cleavages have diminished, regional salience continues: "The centralist-regionalist split is supremely powerful." Together, these papers contribute to an important body of understanding of the public's role in supporting transition and stability. Finally, a paper by Juan Linz and Alfred Stephan (1992) examines the problem of the "territorial state," democratic transition and electoral behavior, comparing Spain with two other nations.

The lack of attention to interest groups is in part a reflection of the relatively lower number of such associations in most areas of Spain. Moreover, some interests that historically manifested themselves politically in parties, such as the military and the Church, are no longer the political forces they once were. An excellent historical anthology, Elites and Power in Twentieth Century Spain (Lannon and Preston 1990) traces the role of many of these groups: church, military, monarchists, Carlists (conservative supporters of the pretender Carlos and his

ancestors that go back to the 1830s), anarchists and economic elites. Some of the essays in this volume also examine the role of traditional interest groups in the post-Franco transformation and their changing political roles. Stanley Payne's Politics and the Military in Modern Spain (1967) is a study of the Army as a force in Spanish politics from the early nineteenth century to the 1960s. Paul Preston's (1990) The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the Military in Twentieth Century discusses the role of the hard-line right and the military in politics, from a military attack on a newspaper publisher in 1905 to the unsuccessful coup in 1981. Shellagh Ellenwood's (1987) Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era is a study of the evolution of the Falange Español (Spanish Phalanx) from its formative years in the 1930s to the transition, when its association with the Franco regime led to decline and voluntary liquidation in 1983. Robert Fishman's (1990) Working-Class Organization and the Return of Democracy to Spain is an analysis of labor unions and their role in the transition, particularly their linkages with political parties, plant level leaders political beliefs and their commitment to democracy, and the moderation of workers due to the economic crisis of the early 1980s.

Government/Policy-making

Understanding the current governmental system begins with the developments that led to the transformation, since after Franco's death the regime remained in power as the constitutional system was being negotiated and approved. Moreover, the first elected government, that of the UCD's Adolfo Suárez had notable roots in Franquism (Suárez was a minor cabinet minister under Franco). Thus, the seeds of the current government were not only planted far back into history, but the evolution of Franquist institutions helps to understand current structures and policies. Fortunately, the transition period has the most literature

available since writings on the Civil War and the imperial period.

An outstanding contextual introduction to the transformation is Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy, by Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi (1981). In addition to examining the political and governmental transformations in the twentieth century through the late 1970s, it is a study of the linkages between economic and social changes and the possibility of democracy. The examination focuses on changes in the Franco regime, but it also attempts to account for the development of its opposition forces. They also look closely at the critical period of the reign of King Juan Carlos, from Franco's death until the first elections in 1977. Finally, Carr and Fusi weave an argument for Spain's abrupt move to modernity; the cultural shock of the sudden end of the atraso, or the social and cultural lag that has long obsessed Spanish observers. Another political history that looks more specifically at the governmental changes during the later years of the Franco regime, the return of the monarchy and the new government is David Gilmour's (1985) The Transformation of Spain. Ironically, despite the central role of the king in the transformation the only devoted works are in Spanish, such as that of Charles Powell's (1991) El Piloto del Cambio, which carefully documents Juan Carlos' engineering of democracy through the period of the threats against the stability of the regime in 1981 and 1982.

Scholarly works that analyze the transition itself include José María Maravall's (1982) Transition to Democracy in Spain. The author, who later became Education Minister in the PSOE government, performs a political analysis of the change: elite strategies, development of opposition parties from outside of the government, development of democratic political attitudes, evolution of a political culture supportive of democracy, and the development of a center left alternative to the UCD. A more condensed overview of the transition that includes the 1982

elections and victory of the PSOE by Maravall and Julián Santamaria (1986) is also available. The previously mentioned Share book (1986) examines the transition from the standpoint of democratic theory. Andrea Bonime-Blanc (1987) has analyzed the constitution-making process from the perspective of democratic theory and compares Spain's transition with other democratic transitions. Her Spain's Transition to Democracy: The Politics of Constitution-Making covers the positions of social groups and political parties in the formulation of various components of the Constitution. An anthology, Democratic Politics in Spain, edited by David Bell (1983), examines political forces--parties, regionalism, military, central administration, social structure--during the period that culminated with the 1982 transfer of power. A collection of papers edited by Thomas Lancaster and Gary Prevost (1985) focus on the role of traditional elites as political decision-makers in the transition. The book highlights the involvement of business, labor, and the military. Another anthology, The Politics of Democratic Spain, edited by Stanley Payne (1986), examines social and political forces but extends the period of analysis through the first re-election of the PSOE in 1986. It contains two fine papers by Richard Gunther on the party system, including one on the growth of the AP as the major opposition party, and one excellent paper on regionalism and regional parties by Goldie Shabad. Finally, Edward Moxon-Browne's (1989) Political Change in Spain is a concise look at transitional developments after 1982, examining the implications of established democratic government and politics, and Spain's involvement in the broader West European Scene. Many additional works on the transition have been published in English, but are too numerous for a complete account.

Coverage of the government, administrative system, and the top executive--prime minister and cabinet--is not as extensive as is that of politics and the transition. Since the system is

framed by the constitution that document can be an essential place to begin. A somewhat rare book edited and translated by Arnold Verdiun (1941), Manual of Spanish Constitutions, 1808-1931 provides the underpinning of constitutionalism through the Second Republic. The Franco era's Fundamental Laws of the State (Spanish Information Service 1967) is also translated and is more readily available. The current Constitution of 1978 has been made available in English by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1982). Two Spanish works by Gregorio Peces-Barba (1988) (1984) are among the more widely used and cited discussions of the meaning of the Constitution.

The link between the Constitution and the governmental structure--national, autonomous community, local government--as well as the role of quasi-governmental organizations, state operated monopolies and corporations, and financial institutions is explained in the Donaghy and Newton (1989) reference book. Although this work is more descriptive than analytical, and is devoid of the personalities and politics that many of the transition books contain, it is virtually the only place the English only reader can go to understand this multi-tiered and complex system of governments, parastatal organizations, quasi-governmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. Paul Heywood (1991) has written a very informative paper on the power of the prime minister; the office is one of the most powerful heads of government in Europe. Antonio Bar (1988) provides an introduction to the structure of the cabinet, particularly the interplay between its formal arrangements and political contexts. Finally, Miguel Beltrán (1988) provides an overview of the current bureaucratic structure, particularly that of the national level. Beltrán analyzes the bureaucracy in historical context, and claims that it has changed slowly and not markedly since the transition.

Three important books by political scientists look at the structure and operation of

government during the Franco era. The most comprehensive is Kenneth Medhurst's (1973) Government in Spain: The Executive at Work, which examines the agencies and tasks of bureaucracy during the period. No mere description of functions, Medhurst analyzes the social and political forces that maintained the regime, and how they contributed to the operation of, and hold on government. He also traces the history of Spanish bureaucracy and civil service. Charles Anderson's (1970) Political Economy of Modern Spain looks at how governmental economic machinery during the period of growth dealt with the economic miracle, and whether the formal structures of Franco's organic state made a difference in this rapid expansion. They did not, since they were circumscribed, most notably when Franco chose the neo-liberal Opus Dei economic team to guard policy choices. The third work, Richard Gunther's (1980) Public Policy in a No-Party State looks at how the Franquist machinery of government led to specific economic policy decisions and the impact these decisions had on policy outputs. This well designed and executed study provides a good look at how the government operated: personalistic style and criteria, high degrees of intradepartmental autonomy, absence of an aggregation of interests, and the dominance of clientelistic criteria in political elite recruitment. Gunther attempts to analyze the different means of political change in this system within a system that has no political parties and with corporatist style interest groups.

Spanish foreign and security policy can be examined in four anthologies. Armed Forces and Society in Spain: Past and Present, edited by Rafael Bañón and Thomas Barker (1988), contains a series of interdisciplinary historical studies. Bañón's concluding study of the post-transition military provides an account of the current administrative structure and operations of the three armed forces, particularly increasing professionalization, removal from involvement

in internal politics and order, and subordination to civil power. Spain: Studies in Political Security edited by Joyce Shub and Raymond Carr (1985) contains a series of brief papers that introduce important themes in security policy, e.g., Spain and Europe, the military, the press, and special areas such as Latin America, North Africa and Gibraltar. Spain's Entry into NATO, edited by Federico Gil and Joseph Tulchin (1988), contains a series of conference papers on the transition and Spain's reintegration into the international community. Four clusters of issues that create tension with Western allies, particularly the U.S., are considered: (1) the definition of strategic concerns, (2) the nature of Spain's participation in the alliance, (3) the severe asymmetry of foreign policy priorities between the U.S. and Spain, and, (4) Spain's special relationship with Latin America. A more current collection is Spanish Foreign and Defense Policy, edited by Kenneth Maxwell (1991), which dwells on many of the same themes as the Shub and Carr book, but also includes actual experiences of Spain in the European Community, NATO, and military policy as well as general coverage of the end of a long period of foreign isolation. In addition to the four anthologies, a discussion of Spanish security and foreign policy by Fernando Rodrigo (1992) that includes the Persian Gulf crisis and U.S. military base withdrawl has been published in an anthology on southern European security.

Few other studies of public policy or policy-making under the current government have yet to be undertaken. However, one thorough study is Thomas Lancaster's (1989) Political Stability and Democratic Change: Energy in Spain's Transition, which focuses on the key political and economic participants that make energy policy decisions. Lancaster concludes that regime form was somewhat unrelated to these policies, because the fundamental economic structures were generally unaltered. The influence of business elites, parastatal organizations,

and quasi-governmental entities changed little from Franquism to democracy. Without such basic changes the necessary conditions for significant economic changes do not exist. Also, Josep Rodríquez's (1992) study of the role of the medical profession's interest representation and policy-making provides a sociological look at interest group roles in the formulation of policy.

Another stream of policy work is that of Robert Clark on Basque issues under the new government, particularly policy relating to the role of Basque violence. One might begin with his The Basques: The Franco Years and Beyond (1979), which explains the rise of Basque nationalism, Basque struggles to maintain their language and identity, as well as their resistance to Franco's repression of subnational identity. Clark's (1984) Basque Insurgents: ETA, 1952-80 covers the activity of ETA, Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom), during anti-Franco and transitional period. ETA is an insurgent organization that has been behind many of the terrorist activities in Spain. A more recent book by Clark (1990), Negotiating with ETA: Obstacles to Peace in the Basque Country, 1975-1988 examines the broad policy discussions between the national government and representatives of ETA, designed to end the violent attacks or alter its behavior in some other way. He concludes that ETA's insurgency continues because cessation of violence is not the most important issue on their political agenda. Rather, other issues such as the withdrawal of Spanish law enforcement authorities from the Basque Country, immediate unconditional amnesty, and the right of the Basque people to self-determination are more important to ETA. Another paper by Clark (1988) looks at the policy negotiations and policy-making process between Madrid and the government of the Basque Country regarding the Basque language, Euskera. Specifically, he examines bilingual education, public television, and operation of public institutions. Clark's language study is one of the few that report the results

of the routines of policy in Spain's intergovernmental system.

The governmental structure under the 1978 Constitution attempts to recognize Spain's long-standing difficulties with centre-periphery relations, as in the case of the Basque country. Basically, the constitution divides the nation into seventeen autonomous territories or communidades, which have been delegated responsibilities (competencias) for a number of functions, e.g., cultural affairs, social services, land use and planning, environmental protection and many others that are being continually delegated. In actuality, some of these communidades are historic subnational territories that correspond to language and social differences, e.g., the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and Valencia, and the Baleric islands. Others, such as Andalusia, Aragon, Murcia, the Canary Islands, and parts of new and old Castile had some historic identity but speak the predominant language, Castilian. Still others had little pre-transition identity but were created as administrative units and to create territorial symmetry. In point of fact, as Juan Linz (1989) forcefully argues in his essay, "Spanish Democracy and the Estado de las Autonomias", the communidades are evolving into a federative solution to center-periphery relations, although different solutions are emerging in different territories. Another paper by Robert Agranoff (1993) examines the evolution of Spain's federal arrangements through the examination of intergovernmental relations: state-communidad transfer of powers, financing mechanisms, political and public policy transactions, and bureaucratic interactions.

Although monographic works in English on the state-communidad system are yet to emerge, several valuable sources are available in various anthologies. For a historical background there is the Fusi (1987) essay referred to earlier and an excellent monographic length study by Juan Linz (1973), "Early State-Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms Against the

State: The Case of Spain", in which he coherently argues that Spain's national government has developed as a state for all Spaniards, but the sense of nationhood has not caught on for significant minorities. Yves Mény (1987) links regionalism and the building of democarcy in an essay that compares Spain, Italy, and France. Cesar Diaz Lopez (1981) has written the most thorough paper on the formative years of decentralization, particularly constitution-building in his, "The State of the Autonomic Process in Spain". It provides excellent understanding of the politics of this aspect of constitution-building.

In terms of the current situation, many of the anthologies on the transition (Bell 1983; Lancaster and Prevost 1985; Payne 1986) provide introductions to the system of communidades. Also, two important contributions imbedded in more general anthologies would be Cesar Diaz Lopez's (1985) constitutional-legal look at "consociational accommodation" and Robert Clark's (1989) look at autonomy in the historic communidades, particularly the Basque Country. Audrey Brassloff's (1989) paper not only provides a basic introduction to the territorial system, but examines its evolution through the middle 1980s. She also discusses federal evolution. Joaquim Sole-Vilanova (1990) has written a good overview of intergovernmental finance in Spain, focusing on the revenue base of the communidades. Despite policy and administrative decentralization, revenue remains centralized, making the territories highly dependent on the national government. Numerous reports and publications in Spanish regarding the new intergovernmental system have been published by the National Institute of Public Administration (INAP), which is part of the Spanish Ministry of Public Administration (MAP). One publication in Spanish, Federalismo y Estado de las autonomías (Armet 1989) is an anthology that examines federalist ideas and the evolution of the system of communidades. Although it has a distinctly

Catalan perspective, it provides information on the routine workings of state-communidad relations that many other works do not. Another more balanced study that deals with the history and early development of the autonomous territories is Estudios Sobre Autonomías Territoriales, by E. Garcia de Entegrría (1985). A more recent anthology, Communidades Autonomías e Insturmentos de Cooperación Interterritorial, edited by Juan Cano Buego (1990) provides both legal and operational studies of the emerging territorial system. One paper looks at basic interterritorial differences is by C.A. Zaldívar and M. Castells (1992), which is part of their general study, España: Fin de Siglo. Finally, a symposium, "Towards Federalism in Spain? Fifteen Years of Democratic Constitutionalism," is being edited by Robert Agranoff and Rafael Bañón (1993), and will be published in English in the major journal of federalism/intergovernmental relations, and in Spanish by INAP.

Local government in Spain means provinces and municipalities. Provincial governments are in the process of losing their functions to the communidades in most parts of Spain, especially in the six single-province communities. Municipalities are constitutionally recognized entities and certain competencias--water, sewer, public works, public health, social services--are delegated to cities over 20,000 in population. Thomas Clegg's (1987) contribution to an anthology on central-local government relations provides some basic introduction to local functions, although it has more of a focus on local-state connections. However, no English study of local government has been published, but Ernesto Carillo's (1991) Gestión de Recursos Humanos, Presupuestación y Hacienda Local en España is a current and well written overview of subnational government. As the title suggests, the focus is on personnel, government functions and local finance, for which he presents many comparisons based on the size and/or

population base of the governmental unit. Carillo also describes the structure of local government and discusses intergovernmental relations. Juan Mateo (1991) has written a short paper on the problems of citizen transactions with the complexities of government regulation when one deals with local government. A recent and thoroughly documented study in Spanish by Bañón and Carillo (1992) of governmental capacities -- staffing levels, functions performed, revenue levels -- of various sized municipalities in the Valencia communidad is available. The study, which has a data base of hundreds of communities, points out the basic weaknesses of small local governments.

Economy

In addition to the general history by Harrison (1985), and the works on political economy, three historical works that look at Spain's economic regeneration and modernization are available in English. The first, Sima Lieberman's (1982) The Contemporary Spanish Economy, is perhaps the most widely quoted work. He delves the most deeply into issues of political economy, and traces the roots of Spain's economic problems to the problems of a traditional society. Modernization came slowly because of political uncertainty, a burdensome bureaucracy, and "stiff-jointed" institutions such as land control. The Sanchez-Albornoz (1987) anthology, The Economic Modernization of Spain, 1830-1930, examines rise of industrialization, capitalization and related social issues, such as the emergence of organized labor. The third historical work, is Alison Wright's (1977) examination of the "economic miracle" of the 1960s and early 1970s, The Spanish Economy 1959-1976. She concludes that the rapid growth did not occur because of the government's efforts, but rather in spite of them. The government was too unwieldy and uncoordinated to make a real impact. Expansion occurred because of factors

outside of policy, private investment, low interest rates, cheap labor, tourism, growth in air transport and other factors.

A standard contemporary work on the Spanish Economy that has been translated into English is Ramón Tamanes's (1986) overview, The Spanish Economy: An Introduction. Tamanes, a consultant and former economic spokesperson for the PCE, offers a basic overview, covering such areas as the revenue system and the communidades, and contains descriptive passages designed for persons who are unfamiliar with Spanish economic institutions. It also discusses Spain and the ECC. Because it is so comprehensive, each topic is dealt with quite briefly. The previously mentioned Salmon (1991) book also provides a general introduction to Spain's multi-institutional economic system, and is current. The OECD (1991) periodically produces economic overviews in its Economic Surveys series. Its most recent Spain study includes economic developments in the early 1990s, macroeconomic policies, public finance, analysis of inflation/anti-inflation performance, and selected microeconomic practices. The report contains many useful tables on monetary and fiscal policies. A study that traces economic trends and performance from the 1970s to the late 1980s is Spain to 1992: Joining Europe's Mainstream by Mark Hudson and Stan Rudencko (1988), a report prepared for the Economist Intelligence Unit Economic Prospects Series. This unit also produces quarterly reports of economic trends. Spain: The Internationalization of the Economy edited by Judith Kleinman and Philip Sington (1989) provides a brief introduction to the economy and foreign trade, written from the perspective of attracting potential investors. Finally, an anthology edited by George Yannopoulos (1989), European Integration and the Iberian Economies provide a basic insight into Spain's role in the EEC.

Two interesting works by Lauren Benton afford the reader a good look at the connection between Spanish economy, society, and polity. The first, a paper on "The Emergence of Industrial Districts in Spain" (Benton 1992), examines the differential role of social networking and economic structure in four regions, as well as regional government repsonses to economic development. The second, a monographic study Invisible Factories: The Informal Economy and Industrial Development in Spain (Benton 1990) is a study of productive decentralization, underground economy (distinguished mainly by lack of state regulation), and the linkages between political shifts and industrial change. Through intensive examination of cases with a similar analytic framework, Benton depicts the changing fabric of the Spanish economy, from regulated factory to unregulated (and untaxed) industrial homework and small shops, as well as how these developments emerged out of competitive need and labor strife. It is an interdisciplinary study of the continuing story of industrialization as a social process.

Society and Culture

Spanish culture has changed considerably in the past few decades and numerous writings examine this phenomenon in different ways. A landmark pre-transition empirical study by Juan Linz (1966) of Spanish social structure is "Within-Nation Differences and Comparisons: The Eight Spains" examines social class in Franco Spain. Linz relates class to income levels, religious identification, the contribution of various regions to elite categories, and to a limited degree to political affiliation. The country has changed considerably since his important work, but with the exception of the previously mentioned survey data on regionalism, there are no English language studies of contemporary social structure. A collection in Spanish of

ethnographic studies address the question of contemporary social structure and its relation to national identity and subnationalism under the current government arrangements, in the Estructuras Sociales y Cuestión National en España (Hernández and Mercadé 1986), that attempts to study pluralism versus the need for collective identity. Finally, a series of essays on social and cultural pluralism are published (some in English some in Spanish) in Iberian Identity, edited by Richard Herr and John Polt (1989). They help explain the basis of loyalty and identification to pueblo, region and nation.

A recent social history is Adrian Shubert's (1990) A Social History of Modern Spain. Shubert focuses on developments and changes in the past century: demographic, occupational structure, land tenure and rural social relations, urban elites and working class organization, church-community-state relations, social conflicts, and the social bases of the Franco regime and the current government. The analysis examines the thesis that Spain lacked a 19th century bourgeois revolution as did other countries in Europe. Shubert interprets history with those who attribute the different pace of change to the legal nature of property and property ownership. Respect for the property of the existing elite, or part of it, "may also be encouraged" by the existence of significant popular opposition to the political and legal changes taking place. Spain indeed did go through a "liberal revolution" rather than a bourgeois revolution; having more years of constitutional, representative government between 1812 and 1914 than any other continental country. If viewed in this light, it places Spain in the mainstream of European history.

Social life in the Spanish countryside and its manifestations on national character and politics has been the subject of many works in English. One important work is Julian Pitt-

Rivers' (1971) The People of the Sierra which is a product of his living in a pueblo in the south in the 1950s. He concludes that village society is essentially equalitarian, with the exception of recognized age and sex differences, and corresponding marital status and ability to support a family. Occupation had little effect on social status. To the people of the village, however, another group whose wealth, profession, or official position brought them in contact with the outside were different. These were the state appointees like the alcalde (mayor), school teachers, civil guards, priests, and doctors. Also, the large landowners were able to escape the cultural limitations of the pueblo and live in larger cities. Pitt-River's maintains that because of the existence of this group, who did not fit into local society, the term "pueblo" takes on more than the town as a physical entity, but also signifying that of the common people. The culture of the pueblo, in both senses of the word, reflected the tensions between the equalitarian local community and the authoritarian state, which Pitt-River's traces back into 19th and 20th century Spanish political thought.

The rural social patterns that led up to the origins of the Civil War have been covered in a number of studies. Edward Malefakis's (1970) Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain is one of the most widely cited works, which is a sociological analysis of land tenure and the structure of rural society in southern Spain. These patterns are then examined in the light of the failure of agrarian reform of the Second Republic. The Anarchists of Casas Viejas by Jerome Mintz (1993) is a widely accepted interpretation of the social origins of this movement in the rural areas. The first part of the book analyzes rural society and the culture of the village. Casas Viejas became notorious during the Second Republic as the scene of a 1933 mini-insurrection and subsequent police massacre that contributed to the fall of the

government.

A number of anthropological studies attempt to explain the texture of communal life, particularly in the pueblos. One of the earlier studies, Neighbors: The Social Contract in a Castilian Hamlet by Susan Tax Freeman (1970) deals with social connections within a tiny hamlet in Old Castile and residents' connections with the outside world, e.g., other settlements, the core town, and the surrounding provincial territories. Freeman features the non-hierarchic, horizontal social organization within the village, bringing out Spanish egalitarian traditions that other authors usually overlook. It is a portrayal of a Castilian hamlet where taking turns, such as in the case of adra, or rotation of responsibilities on the basis of house order, is order of the day, thus reducing class and wealth distinctions. A very solid historical ethnography of a small Leonese village, is Santa María del Monte: The Presence of the Past in a Spanish Village by Ruth Behar (1986). While regional in focus, this study really describes a form of economy and culture that was widespread until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; that of the household economy and common fields. Behar traces a process of cultural persistance and change that is common to Spain and much of Europe. Remaking Ibieca: Rural Life in Aragon Under Franco by Susan Friend Harding (1984) looks at the transformation of village life from preindustrial forms of agriculture to a mechanized capitalist agriculture, through villagers responses to state subsidies and market-mediated incentives. Harding finds that contrary to conventional wisdom, villagers unwittingly refashioned themselves; people participated willingly in social processes that disposed them of their preindustrial culture because they were unaware of what was at stake.

David Gilmore's (1987) Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture looks at the organic relation between agression and social control in small communities, even

as they change in form with modernization. While acknowledging the relationship between positive controls in value and norm maintenance, Gilmore maintains that negative sanctions also form community values. A cultural study about the North is Pasiegos: Spaniards in No-Man's Land by Susan Freeman (1979), which deals with country and village life in one Cantabrian village. Modern life is depicted in Irwin Press's (1979) The City as Context: Urbanism and Behavioral Constraints in Seville, which examines such Sevillano social functions as housing, social contacts, class roles, gender distinctions, occupation and economic activity. It is an ethnographic perspective on urban life. A more historic look at social and political movements can be found in Temma Kaplan's (1992) Red City, Blue Period. It is a study of the politics of region, class, and gender from 1888 to 1939, as they expressed themselves in terms of various communal manifestations of Barcelona's civic culture.

Social thought and cultural life have changed considerably since the controlled, puritanical Franco days. In the early 1990s, two new major museums were added to the existing depth in art museums, led by the world-class Prado in Madrid. Spain received a great deal of visibility in 1992 due to the Olympic Games in Barcelona and the World's Fair in Seville. The number of writers and a substantial cinema industry has grown since 1975. Social life, which has always flourished in Spain, has many trendy late night clubs to go along with the traditional: sports, bull fighting, the flamenco and the wailing of strangely melodic sevillanas or fandagos. Magazines with nudes on their covers, songs with titles like "Your Cellulite Turns Me On" and shows with transvestites all mark the new post-Franco freedom. The Hooper (1987) book provides a general introduction to current popular culture. Some of the English language works that examine the transition (e.g., Bell 1983) to some degree look at these cultural aspects. The

revival of new culture in the transition years, particularly the cinema, novel and theater, as well as political thought is the subject of an anthology, The Conflicts and Achievements of Democracy, edited by Jose Cagigaco, John Crispin and Enrique Pupo-Walker (1989).

These changes indicate how much Spain has increasingly moved into the orbit of Europe. While the country clings to some of the old social customs, such as long and later days and nights, it appears to be more achievement-oriented, attempting to prove that Spaniards can combine democracy, stability and economic growth. Spanish GDP growth has been among the fastest in Europe, with business investment expanding at a rate of about 10% a year. A growing opposition party is capturing control of some cities and regional governments. Long standing regional questions are being worked out. Spain has been a member of NATO since 1982 and the European Community since 1986. Nevertheless, the nation has to move a considerable distance to catch up to its northern European counterparts, particularly in such areas as income and employment levels, social welfare programs and in environmental protection. But Spain appears now to be on a distinctly European route. Many public buildings now display three flags: the red and yellow of Spain, the colors of the region, and the star-spangled blue of Europe.

Scholarship on Spanish society, economy and government needs to reflect this "catching up" and Europeanization. It needs to document the growing stability of a nation with a checkered history. One Spanish scholar remarked in reaction to hearing an American student's dissertation topic on yet another aspect of the 1975-1982 transition, "We are more interested in how things are working now."

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